4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

last two months in Sells, the Agency headquarters, where she was able to fill in important gaps in the material while writing her report.

After receiving permission from the village chief and the District Council, Mrs. Spicer with her two-year-old son settled in Topawa, the largest of the four villages. With the understanding that the regular fiestas should continue to be held there, she lived in the "Feast House," an adobe structure with dirt roof and dirt floor which was used by the Catholic portion of the village. As companion, housekeeper, nurse, and interpreter, she employed the daughter of a leading Topawa family, an intelligent young woman with a ready command of English.

Since the villagers were curious as to the reason why a white woman had come to live in their midst, Mrs. Spicer carefully explained her work to the village chief, emphasizing that she wished to study the language and history of the Papago and the way his people lived, so that other people might know more about them and so that the government might be better able to assist them. This explanation the chief passed on in his official capacity. She gave the same explanation to others who asked, often relating her study to the Project testing program being conducted simultaneously by schoolteachers. The intrusion became accepted as having official sanction, and, as personal relations and friendships were gradually built up, the intruder also came to be accepted.

Living in the village made it possible to attend village affairs, to visit people in their homes, and to hear gossip and opinions on the latest happenings. Trips were made to other villages for these purposes, though the acquaintance there was not so intimate. A continuous effort was made to learn the Papago language, and by the end of the stay simple conversations were understood. Since most people in Baboquivari know at least a little English, there was only occasional need for an interpreter. Spanish was spoken with some of the older people who did not know English.

After establishing a household, the round of everyday life led naturally to an understanding of how other people lived. The investigator attended village affairs such as church services, where she sang in both the Catholic and the Presbyterian choirs; cattle and horse roundups, for which the men were pleased to supply a riding horse and watched with delight the novice's attempts at being a cowboy; and fiestas, where she danced the night through and ate at the fiesta table. Visits with villagers in their homes, and their return visits, slowly became friendly and spontaneous and often led to participation in the local system of gift exchange. At first the talk centered about common interests, but, as time went on, interviews were directed, and people answered questions freely. They wanted to co-operate. There were many small ways in which their

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

123

assistance could be returned, for church groups, officials, and individuals were ever in need of transportation to attend a fiesta or service in another village, to visit friends, or to go to the Agency. There were bales of hay to buy, mail to be delivered, perhaps even a medicine man to summon.

Thus the investigator became a "participant-observer," trying always to be helpful as a participant and unobtrusive as an observer. Perhaps one of the best openings was through the investigator's two-year-old son, who came to speak more Papago than English and quickly won his way into the hearts of the people.

FIELD PROCEDURE—HICKIWAN–GU VO

Owing to the difficulties of working in the more isolated western districts where almost none of the Papago speak English and strangers are regarded with suspicion, the Hickiwan–Gu Vo testing program was postponed until an anthropologist could "feel out" the situation. Accordingly, after obtaining permission from one of the Hickiwan leaders, Jane Chesky, an anthropologist who had already spent six months studying Papago music in Gu Achi District, took up residence in the Hickiwan schoolteachers' quarters in July, 1942. There she lived until March, 1943, and again for two weeks in May, 1943, studying Papago child-training methods and the anthropological background of the area. Her house was on the edge of Hickiwan Village and was centrally located in relation to Vaya Chin, Stoa Pitk, Emika, Hotason Vo, Tatia Toak, and Schuchuli—other villages which she studied.

The first question asked by nearly every new acquaintance was the investigator's purpose in residing among the Papago. After the reason was explained, it faded into the background. Once friendly relations were established, both adults and children came to Miss Chesky's home quite freely to visit or to ask or return some favor. Information was also obtained on numerous trips she made to the villages themselves. Interviews were conducted in the course of casual visits to Papago homes, participation in Papago village activities, and in the give-and-take of small services.

There were only two exceptions to this general "participant-observer" pattern. First, in discussing with mothers the life-histories of their children, particularly regarding basic disciplines, mothers were asked to answer questions largely as a favor to the interviewer. Second, a young man with high-school education was employed chiefly as an interpreter and used also as an informant; he was the only Papago in whose presence written notes (other than on language) were ever made.

A language difficulty retarded the work at Hickiwan. Only about twelve

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

adults residing in the district during the period of study were able to speak English, and some of these had only slight mastery of it. For this reason, Miss Chesky made considerable effort to understand and speak some Papago. Her knowledge of the language never reached the point where interviews could actually be conducted in that medium, but she understood the gist of conversations sufficiently to furnish some check on interpreters. Furthermore, her halting attempts to speak Papago did much to create friendliness toward her. It was thus possible, without restraint on the part of anyone, to make long visits in homes where no English was spoken. On these visits, some information was picked up by very simple conversation in Papago, and much was observed regarding ordinary village happenings and regarding behavior patterns between the members of a household. Observations made but not understood were discussed later with English-speaking Papagos.

With the exception of the Grace Arthur Test, which was given by Mr. Rosen in the summer of 1942, the testing program in the Hickiwan–Gu Vo area was conducted in 1943 by Dr. Joseph and by Mr. and Mrs. Guthrie, Mr. and Mrs. Megivern, and Mrs. Byers, all Indian Service teachers.

ORGANIZATION OF THE MONOGRAPH

Part I, "People on the Desert," describes Papago society on the Reservation today, with a brief account of Papago geography, history, and prehistory. This part of the study is mainly the work of Rosamond B. Spicer. However, Jane Chesky made contributions to certain chapters; namely, sections of chapter iv which deal with the position of women and children in the society; sections of chapter vi dealing with certain theories of disease and curing, with the fiesta, and with the Magdalena pilgrimage; and sections of chapter vii on the relations of the Papago with other Indians, Mexicans, and traders.

Part II, "Growing Up on the Desert," describes the development of the average Papago child. This part of the study is based on detailed study of the western Hickiwan villages previously named, but comparisons have been drawn from consultation with field workers in other districts so that a more representative picture of the average Papago child's life might be drawn. It is the work of Jane Chesky, supplemented by comparative material on Baboquivari contributed by Rosamond B. Spicer.

Part III, "The Personality of the Papago Child," describes the results of the testing program carried on in the two research areas of the Reservation. This part of the study is the work of Alice Joseph, M.D.

8: Pijoan, Elkin & Eslinger D-5 (ca. 1942)1943
NU28 Papago NU28

which involves the dietary intake and the level of ascorbic acid in blood plasma. The dietary intake of ascorbic acid found necessary to maintain a plasma level of this organic acid has varied with the techniques used by investigators. Widenbauer ('37) determined that a daily intake of 22 mg. was necessary to maintain a fixed plasma ascorbic acid concentration; Hathaway and Myer ('41) reported 31 mg., and Bessey and White ('42) in careful studies of children arrived at the conclusion that 3 ounces of orange juice plus what was present in the diet seemed an ideal intake to maintain a level of presumably 40–50 mg. a day. It can be assumed, on the basis of such investigations, that from 30–50 mg. are required to sustain ascorbic acid economy. It is not the purpose of this communication to ascertain the ascorbic acid requirements of Papago Indians but rather to ascertain the amount of ascorbic acid in their food and the plasma level. At the onset we were intrigued by the frequent occurrence among the Papagos of the common finding of a hemorrhagic diathesis in their gums, and in some cases on the ankles and other portions of the body that were most subject to trauma. We felt that the disease of latent or subclinical scurvy was a possibility among these people and that this deficiency might be responsible for its numerous insidious effects.

The method of assay for plasma ascorbic acid was that of Mindlin and Butler ('38) but without the use of cyanide; and that described by Bessey ('38) for foods. Two groups of children, from 6 to 15 years of age, were studied: a group at the Sells School where school lunches are provided, and a group in an isolated community known as Cowlic. School children were used because they were more acculturated and cooperative, the adults being quite primitive and to a greater degree intractable and less amenable to study.

The plasma ascorbic acid findings among twenty-eight children were as follows: one child had a value of 0.660 mg. per cent, which was the highest content observed; two had values of 0.528 mg. per cent, and the rest varied from the lowest ascorbic acid content of 0.264 mg. per cent to 0.396 mg. per cent.

000 loyalty, generosity and competence of all these people have made my work comparatively easy. I thank each one, and promise each one a future world where they can work longer hours for little or no pay since these are the two things they all seem to want.

122 Mr. Thomas H. St. Clair, superintendent of the Papago Agency, his predecessor Mr. Harry Gilmore and the heads of the various agency departments have [114] been consistently and generously helpful in our work. Much of the data, as a matter of fact, was gathered and tabulated by members of the agency staff.

[123] Mr. Eugene Johnson, Chairman of the Papago Tribal Council, and his predecessors Mr. Mark Manuel and Mr. Enos Francisco, have not only given direct assistance but have explained and endorsed our work on the reservation so that interviews with Papago families were carried out smoothly and pleasantly. Our thanks also go to Mr. Edward J. Sullivan, administrative assistant to the tribal chairman, who provided us with needed information and help from the tribal office.

W.H.K.